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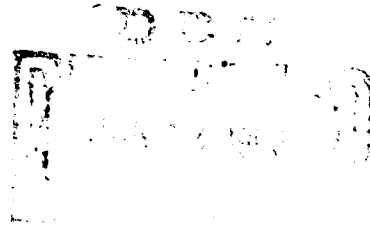
O. Tolstikov, Colonel General of the Air Force,
"United States Civil Defense," in
The Nuclear Age and War (Iadernyi vek i voina),
edited by A. A. Grechko,
Marshal of the Soviet Union,
Moscow, Izvestiia Publishing
House, 1964, pp. 123-132;
translated from the Russian
by Nadia Derkach, the RAND
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The appearance of the nuclear-missile arms has discarded such concepts as the "front" and the "rear" which were common to past wars. If a new war arises through the fault of the imperialists, it will be conducted over vast areas. Industrial areas, administrative areas, and entire states will suffer the effects of the thermonuclear weapons. The explosions of missiles with nuclear warheads will cause enormous destruction and will condemn to death millions and millions of people and primarily the civilians.

The American magazine Saturday Evening Post published an article by D. Oberdorfer under the sensational title "Survival of the Fewest."¹ The author, relying on the opinion of the United States military specialists, makes an estimate of the probable human loss due to a retaliatory nuclear strike. Oberdorfer writes: "Assuming an attack directed against American retaliatory strength -- SAC, missile and submarine bases -- the result would be: 56 million Americans killed outright² and 117 million subject to fatal radiation." Linus Pauling, the famous progressive American scientist, estimates that 60 days

¹See the Saturday Evening Post, March 23, 1963, pp. 17-21. -- Transl.

²The original also contains: "Fifteen million unharmed or merely sick." -- Transl.

following the onset of nuclear war, 170 million out of the 190 million Americans will die, 15 million will sustain serious injury, and only 5 million will remain relatively safe.

It appears that these estimates are quite realistic. The enormous area affected by the weapons of mass destruction, the enormous human losses which can occur in the very first hours of the war, the destruction of large cities and industrial areas, and the psychological shock to the population in the country's rear have demanded urgently a reorganization of civil defense which is being rapidly implemented by all the large states of the West.

Modern civil defense has to prepare the protection for the population against thermonuclear weapons and to render it assistance following the nuclear strikes. This imposes complex and very difficult problems upon the entire civil defense system. Civil defense in the last war managed with small personnel and means, fire pumps, picks and shovels for cleaning the rubble, and with stretchers for transferring the injured, but modern war requires the establishment of a dozen special services for conducting rescue operations.

This is due to the fact that in addition to the destruction of large politico-administrative and industrial centers and objectives of strategic importance, extensive territories will be contaminated with radioactivity. The water supply sources, livestock, vegetation, foodstuff, and forage will become contaminated and will not be useable without special processing.

The concentrations of large fires will create enormous difficulties for the population. The situation will become

even more complex if in the future war the aggressors will employ chemical and bacteriological weapons.

Services have to be established because of the danger of radioactive contamination for radiological detection and warning, for dosimetric control, for decontamination of terrain and structures, for decontamination of people and articles for every-day use, and for protection of food. If one considers that posts and even units for this purpose will be needed in each populated point, not to mention large cities, then tens and hundreds of thousands of individuals will have to be specially trained.

Regarding other services earmarked for executing labor-consuming rescue operations and for rendering aid to the casualties (cleaning the debris, extinguishing fires, eliminating accidents in the municipal utilities networks, rendering medical aid and evacuating casualties), millions of trained individuals will be needed to staff them in large states. American specialists think that United States civil defense will require several tens of thousands of individuals formed into special teams for the burial of the dead alone.

The conditions of thermonuclear war produce problems which require all the civil defense services and units to have up-to-date technical equipment. They must have at their disposal a large number of cars, pneumatic tools, dosimetric instruments, radioactive contamination detectors, and other complex machines and instruments. An enormous number of people and the entire technical might of the country will have to be mobilized for the rescue operations for a successful elimination of the after-effects of a nuclear attack.

In addition, modern war requires civil defense to solve a number of other problems connected with the protection of industrial enterprises, transportation routes, communication facilities, etc., from destruction by nuclear weapons and if necessary to carry out various repair and restoration operations. This also requires special units made up of workers and white-collar employees from the enterprises. Civil defense and its personnel and resources must prepare for fulfilling their tasks long in advance of military action in order to be capable of fulfilling their role in any of the most complex and difficult conditions of nuclear war.

Civil defense must rely on all the human and material resources of the nation in order to solve successfully the many-sided and complex tasks facing it under modern conditions. The indispensable requirement and the guarantee of success of civil defense consists of mass participation in its program and adequate modern technical equipment.

It is clear that civil defense will be that much stronger if the moral and political unity of the citizens is strong and the citizens are rallied around the true ideas which can inspire people to heroic deeds and sacrifices. Capitalist states lack this fundamental principle in the organization of civil defense since their imperialist aims are in irreconcilable contradiction to the interests of the toiling masses.

Of course, the people in the capitalist countries will also strive to protect their families and their kin from nuclear death and their property from destruction. That is the law of life. However, the imperialists will

not be able to create a strong, monolithic civil defense. The toilers of the capitalist countries and of the United States in particular are beginning to comprehend that the main forces of the civil defense units are earmarked chiefly for the protection and restoration of industrial objectives which belong to the monopolists and for this reason [they] are refusing to join civil defense units.

Americans are being subjected daily to psychological treatment. Three hundred eighty radio stations regularly transmit military broadcasts. Various types of booklets, brochures, leaflets, and instructions on the construction of shelters and on the rules of conduct during a nuclear attack are being published in huge quantities. Movies and television are being widely used for the demonstration of militaristic films. The Pentagon organizes various types of mass campaigns intended to maintain military psychosis at a proper level. For example, a so-called "campaign to strengthen vigilance" is conducted annually. It lasts two weeks in the course of which alerts, "air raids," "nuclear explosions," etc., take place throughout the country. Nevertheless, the Pentagon's and the capitalist monopolies' attempts to drive the toilers into the civil defense units and services on a "voluntary basis" fail.

The difficulties of United States civil defense in staffing its forces are further aggravated by the fact that the population has been frightened by the horrors of nuclear war. The fear which has been instilled into Americans turns like a boomerang against those who fanned

it. The leaders of civil defense are beginning to understand that one cannot organize civil defense units out of people hidden in their family shelters. Therefore, it is no accident that the United States press and the press of a number of European countries bitterly admit that here civil defense units exist only on paper.

Despite the fact that the government and military leaders of the capitalist countries maintain that they are establishing civil defense solely for humane purposes, for the protection of the population, and for rendering aid in case of enemy attack (here they equate civil defense with the Red Cross), practice shows otherwise. Civil defense in the United States and in the NATO countries has been made long ago to serve the imperialist schemes of the organizers of a new war. The so-called civil defense measures are none other than strategic protection of the aggressive and piratical United States policy.

Many recent facts and above all the United States government measures on the complete militarization of the civil defense testify to this. Thus, for example, the Pentagon has been charged with the responsibility for civil defense in the United States. In line with this, the Pentagon's special directive points out that "the army is charged with the main responsibility for the military participation in civil defense." This same directive also points out that the federal and the state authorities will have a minimal control over civil defense operations. The United States government, by subordinating civil defense to the Pentagon, has in essence placed it outside the laws and customs governing the conduct of war with all the

consequences ensuing therefrom. These extraordinary measures in the area of civil defense are far from accidental. They testify to the existence of a deep crisis in modern civil defense of the imperialist states and to its [civil defense's] inability to insure their [states'] "survival" in modern nuclear-missile war.

The United States civil defense crisis has resulted from the policy of the American ruling circles which is contrary to people's interests and is the failure of their attempts to transform civil defense into a mass militarized organization adapted to covering the rear of the imperialist aggression. The crisis has manifested itself in the inability of the American government to attract broad strata of the population to participate in civil defense.

In deciding to militarize its civil defense, the United States government also took into consideration such internal political difficulties which have manifested themselves with special acuteness in connection with the mass discrimination of Negroes. Not only in Alabama and Jackson but essentially throughout America twenty million Negroes have stated publicly that they do not have anything or anyone to defend in this country.

The venture with the shelters, which the monopolies undertook jointly with the Pentagon in 1961-1962, further testifies to the weakness of civil defense. The publication of a program the United States government advanced for the construction of shelters against radioactive fallout preceded it. According to this program, shelters to accommodate 70 million men were to be ready by 1967. The Department of Defense quickly conducted a survey, made an

estimate, and marked the shelters. Newspapers, radio, and television hurried to provide the Americans with firms which build standard shelters and the names of famous specialists who acted as consultants for the designs. One has to admit that the policy of intimidation, which the Pentagon conducted, initially produced certain results. The well-to-do segment of U.S. population, under the influence of fear, began either to build or buy shelters. Millions of dollars began to flow into the safes of the monopolies.

What does the program of bunker construction in the U.S. actually mean? One does not have to be a great specialist to realize that from an economic point of view it is a pure bluff. Not one modern state, including the U.S., has at its disposal the materials and the financial resources for building anti-nuclear shelters for the entire population. The large-scale building of shelters provides a business for the monopolies which strive to profit at the expense of the American man-in-the-street who has been frightened by the military psychosis. Such is the economic aspect of the question.

The program for the construction of nuclear shelters is also unsound from the purely military point of view. The initiators of sensationalism are trying to convince Americans that America will suffer very insignificant losses in an atomic attack if the shelter construction program is carried out. A booklet containing a foreword written by Secretary of Defense McNamara was published for the population with this goal in mind. The mere fact that the booklet was published in 35 million copies, as

well as the fact that it was reprinted by many U. S. Sunday newspapers, indicates that it was considered to be quite important. The booklet creates an illusion for the reader that the main thing in modern war is not the nuclear blast but radioactive contamination from which one can protect oneself fairly easily. Furthermore, according to the booklet, nuclear bombs will not exceed five megaton. This is being maintained in our time when the entire world knows that nuclear weapons with yields up to 100 megaton and the reliable means for their delivery to any point in the planet already exist!

We have no intention of frightening the American people but for the sake of truth we have to point out that the force of a blast wave of only one such weapon will destroy over a very large area the type of shelter which the American firms are building on a mass scale.

The desired effect has not been achieved despite the fact that the average American has already been subjected for some time to propaganda. Only the people with weak nerves have been caught by the bait in the guise of shelters. The unsold piles of prefabricated shelters to this day adorn many U. S. cities. A representative of the Coralock Industries, which produces shelters and has not been able to sell its dirty goods, stated to a reporter from the El Paso Times that this was "the greatest fiasco in which their firm had been involved."

The well-to-do people are not alone in refusing to build shelters. Cities, and even states, "are dropping out of the game," as the American reporters put it, under the pressure of public opinion. Portland cancelled the

shelter construction program. Oregon followed its lead when the legislature passed a special resolution on this occasion. Senator Wayne Morse announced, in response to the Pentagon's request to use his influence in favor of the civil defense program, that "it is pointless and wasteful."

The October 1962 days of the Caribbean crisis clearly illustrated the complete inability of U. S. civil defense to carry out its assignment. The "test" showed that civil defense in many U. S. cities and populated points does not have any plans, shelters, or administrative agencies. During those days, millions of Americans discovered to their horror that the civil defense so colorfully described on the pages of newspapers and magazines in practice does not exist and that the reliable shelters with the filter ventilation installations and medical and food stocks exist in fact for the members of the ruling class alone.

The FRG [Federal Republic of Germany], England, and other member countries of the aggressive NATO bloc have followed in the footsteps of the American military. A number of laws have been passed recently in West Germany which are designed to rouse military hysteria and to instill a sense of fear in the population before a fabricated danger of attack on the part of the USSR. The revenge-seekers of the FRG, having acquired a "legal" foundation, initiated a frantic preparation of West German civil defense against thermonuclear war. As a start, compulsory enlistment of men and women into civil defense was legalized. It may, at first glance, appear to the

uninitiated that the rulers of the FRG really are concerned with protecting the population. But in reality, as in Hitler's time, the monopolies and the civil defense organizations under the sponsorship of the monopolies are designated first of all for the protection of industrial enterprises belonging to the capitalists and for their restoration in case of destruction.

Such is the situation, not only in the FRG but also in the majority of the NATO countries. The protection of the people is considered only in conjunction with the functioning of military industry in military times. The main attention is devoted to purely military problems: the assurance that strategic raw material, transportation and communications will be available for industry and the construction of underground enterprises, etc.

Only the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist commonwealth, which conduct a consistently peaceful policy, have a reliable, genuine national civil defense. The essence, purpose and tasks, methods of recruitment, personnel composition and administration of our civil defense program has nothing in common with the civil defense of the capitalist countries. It is intended exclusively to fulfill a real humanitarian task -- the protection of the civilian population in the cities and the countryside from modern arms of mass destruction and above all from nuclear arms and to render aid to the population in case the aggressors resort to these weapons.

The national character of the USSR civil defense is a manifestation of the socialist nature of Soviet society with the building and the protection of which all the

Soviet people are vitally concerned. This is the principal difference between the Soviet civil defense and the civil defense of the capitalist countries. Its vast advantage lies in this: created by the people and in the name of the people's interests, it is managed by the representatives of the people.

The Soviet people have no illusions regarding ordeals which a thermonuclear war can bring. That is why they struggle with such unprecedented energy for peace, for the prohibition of nuclear arms, and for general and complete disarmament. However, if the forces of reason fail to triumph over the dark forces of destruction and war, the USSR civil defense will fulfill its duty before the Motherland. It is preparing itself intensively to this end. Its mass units are on constant alert.